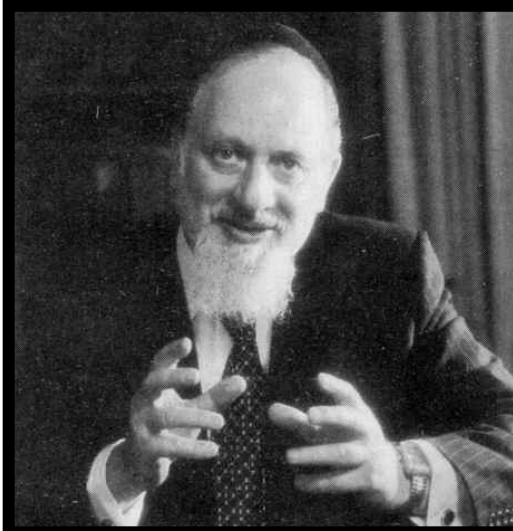


Welfare State or Character Development



On the Giving End, Part 2

This shiur series is sponsored by **Sandy and Ed Klar** and family on the first yahrzeit of their father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, **David Klar**, Dovid Zvi ben Yoseph Yehuda.

This shiur is kindly sponsored by:

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Lorraine and Lenny Kunin upon the yahrzeit her father bo bayom on Sunday, **Morris Siegel**, Moshe Dov ben Yitzchok Yosef

And by

Autumn and Bruce Mael
on the yahrzeit of Autumn's father,
Mr. Walter Lido, Zeev ben Moshe.

The City Responsibility

1. Mishna Torah, Matnos Aniyim 9:1-3

כל עיר שיש בה ישראל חייבין להעמיד מהם גבאי צדקה אנשים ידועים ונאמנים שיהיו מחזירין על העם מערב שבת לערב שבת ולוקחין מכל אחד ואחד מה שהוא ראוי לתן ודבר הקצוב עליו. והן מחלקין המעות מערב שבת לערב שבת ונותנין לכל עני ועני מזונות המספיקין לשבועה ימים. וזו היא הנקראת קפה:

In every city where Jews live, they are obligated to appoint faithful, men of renown as trustees of a charitable fund. They should circulate among the people from Friday to Friday and take from each person what is appropriate for him to give and the assessment made upon him. They then allocate the money from Friday to Friday, giving each poor person sufficient food for seven days. This is called the *kupah*.

וכן מעמידין גבאין שלוקחין בכל יום יום מכל חצר וחצר פת ומיני מאכל או פרות או מעות ממי שמתנדב לפי שעה. ומחלקין את הגבוי לערב בין העניים ונותנין לכל עני ממנו פרנסת יומו. וזהו הנקרא תמחוי:

Similarly, we appoint trustees who take bread, different types of food, fruit, or money from every courtyard from those who make a spontaneous donation and divide what was collected among the poor in the evening, giving each poor person sustenance for that day. This is called the *tamchui*.

מעולם לא ראינו ולא שמענו בקהל מישראל שאין להן קפה של צדקה. אבל תמחוי יש מקומות שנהגו בו ויש מקומות שלא נהגו בו. והמנהג הפשוט היום שיהיו גבאי הקפה מחזירין בכל יום ומחלקין מערב שבת לערב שבת:

We have never seen nor heard of a Jewish community that does not have a *kupah* for charity. A *tamchui*, by contrast, exists in some communities, but not in others. The common practice at present is that the trustees of the *kupah* circulate [among the community and collect] every day and divide [the proceeds] every Friday.

Oversight

2. Mishna Torah, Matnos Aniyim 9:5

הקפה אינה נגבית אלא בשנים שאין עושים שררה על הצבור בממון פחות משנים. ומתן להאמין לאחד המעות של קפה. ואינה נחלקת אלא בשלשה מפני שהיא כדיני ממונות. שנותנים לכל אחד די מחסורו לשבת. והתמחוי נגבה בשלשה שאינו דבר קצוב. ומתחלק בשלשה:

[Money for] the *kupah* should be collected only by two people together, for no less than two communal trustees should ever be appointed over the financial interests of the community. It is permitted to entrust the money of the *kupah* to one person, but [the funds] should not be distributed by less than three trustees, because [the allocation] is comparable to a judgment concerning financial matters, since each person is given his needs for that week. [Donations for] the *tamchui* should be collected by three - because it does not involve a fixed amount - and it is distributed by three.

Above Suspicion

3. Mishna Torah, Matnos Aniyim 9:10

היה הגבאי נושה בחברו מנה ופרעו בשוק לא יתנם לתוך כיסו אלא לתוך ארנקי של צדקה. וכשיגיע לבייתו יטלם. ולא ימנה מעות הקפה שנים שנים אלא אחד אחד מפני החשד שנאמר (במדבר לב כב) "והייתם נקיים מה" ומישראל:

If a charity trustee is owed money by a colleague and [the latter] pays him in the marketplace, he should not put [this money] in his pocket, but instead into the wallet of the charitable fund.

When he comes home, he should take it [for himself].

He should not count out the money of the charitable fund in pairs, but rather one coin at a time, lest suspicions be aroused, as [implied by Numbers 32:22]: "And you shall be guiltless in the eyes of God and Israel."

Coercion

4. Mishna Torah, Matnos Aniyim 7:10

מי שאינו רוצה לתן צדקה או שייתן מעט ממה שראוי לו. בית דין כופין אותו ומכין אותו מכת מרדות עד שייתן מה שאמדהו לתן. ויורדין לנכסיו בפניו ולוקחין ממנו מה שראוי לו לתן. וממשכנין על הצדקה ואפלו בערבי שבתות:

When a person does not want to give charity or desires to give less than what is appropriate for him, the court should compel him and give him stripes for rebellious conduct until he gives the amount it was estimated that he should give. We take possession of his property when he is

present and expropriate the amount that is appropriate for him to give. We expropriate property for the sake of charity even on Fridays.

Residency Requirements

5. Mishna Torah, Matnos Aniyim 9:12

מי שישב במדינה שלשים יום כופין אותו לתן צדקה לקפה עם בני המדינה. יושב שם שלשה חדשים כופין אותו לתן התמחוי. יושב שם שלשה חדשים כופין אותו לתן צדקה בכסות שמכסים בה עגלי העיר. יושב שם תשעה חדשים כופין אותו לתן צדקה לקבורה שקוברין בה את העניים ועושין להם כל צרכי קבורה:

When a person has lived in a city for 30 days, we compel him to give charity to the *kupah* together with the inhabitants of the city. If he dwelled there for three months, we compel him to contribute to the *tamchui*. If he dwelled there for six months, we compel him to contribute to the fund used to clothe the poor of the city. If he dwelled there for nine months, we compel him to contribute to the fund used for the burial of the poor of the city and the provision of all their burial needs.

Margaret Thatcher

<http://www.margaretthatcher.org/essential/biography.asp>

Margaret Thatcher's political career has been one of the most remarkable of modern times.

Born in October 1925 at Grantham, a small market town in eastern England, she rose to become the first (and for two decades the only) woman to lead a major Western democracy.

She won three successive General Elections and served as British Prime Minister for more than eleven years (1979-90), a record unmatched in the twentieth century.

During her term of office she reshaped almost every aspect of British politics, reviving the economy, reforming outdated institutions, and reinvigorating the nation's foreign policy. She challenged and did much to overturn the psychology of decline which had become rooted in Britain since the Second World War, pursuing national recovery with striking energy and determination. In the process, Margaret Thatcher became one of the founders, with Ronald Reagan, of a school of conservative conviction politics, which has had a powerful and enduring impact on politics in Britain and the United States and earned her a higher international profile than any British politician since Winston Churchill.

By successfully shifting British economic and foreign policy to the right, her governments helped to encourage wider international trends which broadened and deepened during the 1980s and 1990s, as the end of the Cold War, the spread of democracy, and the growth of free markets strengthened political and economic freedom in every continent. Margaret Thatcher became one of the world's most influential and respected political leaders, as well as one of the most controversial, dynamic, and plain-spoken, a reference point for friends and enemies alike.

Policies

GDP and public spending by functional classification	% change in real terms 1979/80 to 1989/90[88]
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GDP	23
Total government spending	13
Law and order	53
Employment and training	33
Health	32
Social security	32
Transport	-6
Trade and industry	-38
Housing	-67
Defence	-3

Rabbi Immanuel Jakobovits

http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/judaica/ejud_0002_0011_0_09966.html



JAKOBOVITS, LORD IMMANUEL (1921–1999), rabbi. Jakobovits was born in Koenigsberg, the son of Julius Jakobovits, rabbi of the local Orthodox congregation and laterdayyan in Berlin and London. He studied for the rabbinate at Jews' College and at the Etz Hayyim Yeshivah, London. After serving as minister to a number of London synagogues, in 1949 he became chief rabbi of Dublin and the Jewish communities in the Irish Republic. Jakobovits was rabbi of the Fifth Avenue Synagogue, New York, from 1958 until 1966, when he was appointed chief rabbi of the United Hebrew Congregations of the British Commonwealth, serving until his retirement in 1991. Jakobovits was appointed honorary director of the Center for Jewish Medical Ethics at Ben-Gurion University, Israel, in 1977, and a fellow of University College, London, in 1984. Knighted in 1981, Jakobovits became a peer in 1988.

Faith in the City

"To examine the strengths, insights, problems and needs of the Church's life and mission in Urban Priority Areas and, as a result, to reflect on the challenge which God may be making to Church and Nation: and to make recommendations to appropriate bodies."



FAITH IN THE CITY
A Call for Action by Church and Nation

*The Report of the
Archbishop of Canterbury's Commission
on Urban Priority Areas*

From Doom to Hope

CHURCH HOUSE PUBLISHING
Church House, Dean's Yard, London SW1P 3NZ

FROM DOOM TO HOPE

Continued from previous page

judgement. Clearly, the emphasis here is not so much on the pursuit of wealth as an incentive to work as it is on its legitimacy in the striving for economic independence and for positions of influence and honour.

As a moral rationale for dealing with the high incidence of unemployment and other forms of deprivation, the Report obliges the State "to provide compensating 'benefits' to those who do not share the relative affluence of the rest."

The Report adds: "But it is not easy for State benefits to be given to individuals without affronting their human dignity," and the failure of our society to find an acceptable solution, as evidence the large number of benefits not taken up by those entitled to them on account of "the degrading conditions," is deemed "one of the more inhumane consequences of our free market economy" (3.17).

Once again, the key concept here seems to be that those who are deprived are victims of the



<http://www.theguardian.com/news/1999/nov/01/guardianobituaries1>

When, in 1985, the then Archbishop of Canterbury's report, Faith In The City, criticised the Thatcher government's emphasis on individualism as the driving

force for ending poverty and social deprivation, Jakobovits responded with his own document, From Doom To Hope. His view was that immigrants and the unemployed should follow the example of Britain's turn-of-the-century Jewish population and work harder to achieve prosperity.

From Doom to Hope

Before examining the findings of the Report in any detail, it should be stated, emphatically and without equivocation, that Judaism is in complete agreement with the basic assumption underlying the entire Report that religious leaders and organisations should address themselves to the grave social problems afflicting society today, both by arousing the public conscience on widespread suffering and injustice, granting this “a high place among our theological priorities” (3.25)* and, if necessary, even by questioning the morality of economic policies in the light of their effects (9.52).

The Jewish insistence on subjecting social issues to religious critical scrutiny and counsel is, if anything, even more pronounced and prominent. A massive proportion of biblical and rabbinic legislation is designed to promote justice and fairness in social relations.

Blame

6. Faith in the City 9.52

But we must question whether, at a time when our economy is in transition to an uncertain future, a dogmatic and inflexible macro-economic stance is appropriate. We believe that a more open debate is needed about the type of society present economic policies are shaping. We *recommend* that the Church and its bishops should play a full part in such a debate, for the Christian Gospel sets values in relation to the dignity and worth of each individual, and in relation to human society, against which economic dogma must be judged.

7. From Doom to Hope

The selfishness of workers in attempting to secure better conditions at the cost of rising unemployment and immense public misery can be just as morally indefensible as the rapaciousness of the wealthy in exploiting the working class in order to add even more digits to their astronomical profits, or as unacceptable as a government biased in favour of equating success with virtue rather than need with opportunity and human dignity with supreme merit.

Attitude to Wealth

8. Faith in the City Page 51-52

The Tradition of Christian Social Thought

3.11 It is against the background of the excessive individualism of much Christian thinking in the nineteenth century that we must place Marx's perception that evil is to be found, not just in the human heart, but in the very structures of economic and social relationships. This perception is also found to a notable degree in the Old Testament (from which, in fact, Marx may have derived it), where there is explicit recognition of the inevitable tendency of the rich to get richer and the poor to get poorer unless some constraint is imposed to limit the freedom of individuals to profit without restraint from a market economy. Most ancient societies were aware of this tendency, and some actually took measures to curb it – Solon's legislation for the cancellation of debts in sixth-century Athens is a case in point. But the Old Testament is unique in attempting to impose a number of controls upon society to check the inevitable increase of social and economic

9. 3.13

page 53

production of goods. But there are important provisos. The creation of wealth must always go hand in hand with just distribution. The product must have some intrinsic value, and its production must have due regard to social and ecological consequences. There is a long Christian tradition, reaching back to the Old Testament prophets, and supported by influential schools of economic and political thought, which firmly rejects the amassing of wealth unless it is justly obtained and fairly distributed. If these provisos are not insisted upon, the creation of wealth cannot be allowed to go unchallenged as a first priority for national policy.

10. Liturgy

סדר ברכת החודש

רצוי לדעת את זמן המולד לפני שמברכים את החודש. הש"ץ לוקח ספר התורה בידו ואומר:

יְהִי רְצוֹן מִלְּפָנֶיךָ ה' אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְאֱלֹהֵי אֲבוֹתֵינוּ. שֶׁתְּחַדֵּשׁ עֲלֵינוּ אֶת הַחֹדֶשׁ הַזֶּה לְטוֹבָה וְלִבְרָכָה. וְתִתֵּן לָנוּ חַיִּים אָרוּכִים. חַיִּים שֶׁל שְׁלוֹם. חַיִּים שֶׁל טוֹבָה. חַיִּים שֶׁל בְּרָכָה. חַיִּים שֶׁל פְּרֻנְסָה. חַיִּים שֶׁל חֲלוּץ עֲצֻמוֹת. חַיִּים שֶׁיֵּשׁ בָּהֶם יִרְאֵת שָׁמַיִם וְיִרְאֵת חֹטָא. חַיִּים שֶׁאֵין בָּהֶם בּוֹשָׁה וְקִלְמָה. חַיִּים שֶׁל עֶשֶׂר וְכָבוֹד. חַיִּים שֶׁתְּהֵא בְּנוֹ אֲהַבֵּת תּוֹרָה וְיִרְאֵת שָׁמַיִם. חַיִּים שֶׁיִּמְלֵא ה' מִשְׁאֲלוֹת לִבְנוֹ לְטוֹבָה בְּזָכוֹת תְּפִלַּת רַבִּים. אָמֵן סְלָה:

11. Shmos 18:21

(כא) ואתה תחזיה מכל העם אנשי חיל יראי אלהים אנשי אמת שנאי בצע ושמת עליהם שרי אכפים שרי מאות שרי חמשים ושרי עשרת:

12. Rashi, ad loc

ואתה תחזה - צרות הקודש שעליך:
אנשי חיל - עשירים, שאין צריכין להחניף ולהכיר פנים:

13. Talmud Bavli, Kesubos 50a

א"ר אילעא: באושא התקיננו, המבזבוז - אל יבזבוז יותר מחומש.

14. Rashi, ad loc.

מחומש - שצנכסיו שלא יצטרך לצריות.

15. Talmud Bavli, Shabbso 119a

בעא מיניה רבי מרבי ישמעאל ברבי יוסי: עשירים שבארץ ישראל במה הן זוכין? אמר לו: בשביל שמעשרין, שנאמר +דברים יד+ עשר תעשר - עשר בשביל שתתעשר.

Attitude to Work

16. Page 54, 3.15

and productive work. Certainly our culture presupposes a close connection between employment and status. (There is a distinction, as we shall argue in Chapter 9, between employment and 'work'.) Social position follows types of employment or profession; long working hours are rewarded by extra pay or promotion; personal respect is gained by the ability to 'hold down a job'; one of the first questions asked of a stranger is 'What do you do?'. There is none of this in the Bible or in early Christian tradition. Certainly there is condemnation of idleness: none may unilaterally contract out of the work which is necessary for any society to sustain itself. But, beyond this, work is never seen as a means of gaining wealth or status. On the one hand it is a

17. Yonah 1:15

(ז) ויאמרו אליו הגידה נא לנו באשר כלמי הרעה הזאת לנו מה מלאכתך ומאיך תבוא מה ארצך ואי מזה עם אתה:

18. Bereishis 2:15

15 And the LORD God took the man, and put him into the garden of Eden to dress it and to keep it.
טו ויקח יהוה אלהים, את-האדם; וינחהו בגן-עדן, לעבדה וכלשמרה.

19. Talmud Bavli, Baba Basra 110a

אמר להן, כך מקובלני מבית אבי אבא: לעולם ישכיר אדם עצמו לע"ז ואל יצטרך לבריות. והוא סבר: לע"ז ממש; ולא היא, אלא ע"ז - עבודה שזרה לו, כדאמר ליה רב לרב כהנא: נטוש נבילתא בשוקא ושקול אנרא, ולא תימא גברא רבא אנא וזילא בי מילתא.

20. Tehillim 128:2

א שִׁיר, הַמַּעֲלוֹת: 1 A Song of Ascents. {N}

אֲשֶׁר־י, כָּל־יֵרָא יְהוָה הַחַלְךְ, בְּדַרְכוֹי. Happy is every one that feareth the LORD, that walketh in His ways.

ב יִגַּעַ כַּפְיךְ, כִּי תֹאכַל; אֲשֶׁר־יךְ, וְטוֹב כָּךְ. 2 When thou eatest the labour of thy hands, happy shalt thou be, and it shall be well with thee.

21. Kala Rabosi, Perek 9

אֲתִיא כִּדְתַנְנִי, ר' שִׁמְעוֹן אֹמֵר הַמְדִיר אֶת אֲשֶׁתוֹ מִלַּעֲשׂוֹת מִלֵּאכָה, יוֹצִיא וִיתֵן כְּתוּבָה, שֶׁהַבְּטָלָה מִבִּיאָה לִידֵי שַׁעֲמוֹם.

Entitlement vs. Responsibility

22. Faith in the City 3.17

(ii) The high incidence of unemployment and other forms of deprivation obliges the State to provide compensating 'benefits' to those who do not share the relative affluence of the rest. But it is not easy for state benefits to be given to individuals without affronting their human dignity. It is successfully accomplished in the case of non-means tested entitlements such as child benefit, and old age pensions; but when more detailed enquiries into circumstances have to be made it demands the services of well-trained, patient and sympathetic civil servants. The administrative economies introduced by the DHSS in the face of the ever-growing number of claimants produce situations of acute personal humiliation. The large number of benefits not taken up by those entitled to them, and the degrading conditions (which we have seen for ourselves) under which benefits have to be claimed in many DHSS offices, testify to the failure of our society to find an acceptable solution to one of the more inhumane consequences of our free market economy.

23. Devarim 15:7-8

ז כִּי־יְהִיָּה בְךָ אֶבְיוֹן מֵאֲחִיךָ, בְּאֶחָד שַׁעְרֶיךָ, בְּאַרְצֶךָ, אֲשֶׁר־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ נָתַן לְךָ--לֹא תֹאמֵן אֶת־לִבְבְּךָ, וְלֹא תִקְפֵּץ אֶת־יָדְךָ, מֵאֲחִיךָ, הָאֶבְיוֹן. 7 If there be among you a needy man, one of thy brethren, within any of thy gates, in thy land which the LORD thy God giveth thee, thou shalt not harden thy heart, nor shut thy hand from thy needy brother:

8 s but thou shalt surely open thy hand unto him, and
תַּעֲבִיטָנוּ, דִּי מוֹחֲסְרוּ, אֲשֶׁר יִחְסַר לוֹ. וְהֵעֲבַט,
shalt surely lend him sufficient for his need in that
which he wanteth.

24. Rashbam, Baba Basra 65b

ולשם מפורש לפי שראה הלל שנמנעין העשירים מלהלוות לעניים מפני יראת שביעית שמשמטת והיו עוברים על מה שכתוב פן יהיה דבר עם לבבך בליעל וגוי' עמד הלל והתקין פרוזבול פרוז ריוח כמו שהפריז על מדותיו דבמסכת נדה (דף ד:) בול עשירים כמו אלו ראשי בולאות שביהודה (גיטין דף לז) כלומר ריוח לעשירים שלא יפסידו שלהם ותנן גופו של פרוזבול מוסרני לכם פלוני

25. Rambam, 10:7

שמנה מעלות יש בצדקה זו למעלה מזו, מעלה גדולה שאין למעלה ממנה זה המחזיק ביד ישראל שמך ונותן לו מתנה או הלואה או עושה עמו שותפות או ממציא לו מלאכה כדי לחזק את ידו עד שלא יצטרך לבריות לשאול, ועל זה נאמר והחזקת בו גר ותושב וחי עמך כלומר החזק בו עד שלא יפול ויצטרך.

26. Midrash Ruth Rabba 5:9

תני בשם רבי יהושע יותר ממה שבעל הבית עושה עם העני, העני עושה עם בעל הבית, שכן אמרה רות לנעמי 'שם האיש אשר עשיתי עמו היום', ולא אמרה אשר עשה עמי אלא 'אשר עשיתי עמו', הרבה פעולות והרבה טובות עשיתי עמו בשביל שהאכילני פרוסה אחת

27. Rambam, Avos 3:15

אחר כך אמר, שהמעלות לא יושגו לפי שעור גדול המעשה, אלא לפי רוב מספר המעשה. וזה, שהמעלות אמנם יושגו בכפול מעשי הטוב פעמים רבות, ובזה יושג הקנין, לא בשיעשה האדם מעשה אחד גדול ממעשי הטוב, שבזה לברו לא יושג קנין. משל זה, שהאדם אם יתן למי שראוי אלף דינר, בפעם אחת ולאיש אחד, לא תושג לו מעלת הנדיבות בזה המעשה האחד הגדול, כמו שתושג למי שיתנדב אלף פעמים באלף דינר, ויתן כל דינר מהם על צד הנדיבות, לפי שזה יכפל על ידו מעשה הנדיבות אלף פעמים, ויושג קנין חזק, וזה פעם אחת בלבד התעוררה הנפש התעוררות גדולה למעשה טוב, ואחר כך פסקה מזה. וכן בתורה אין שכר מי שפדה אסיר במאה דינר, או נתן צדקה לעני במאה דינר שהיו די מחסורו, כמו מי שפדה עשרה אסירים, או השלים חסרון עשרה עניים, ואפילו בעשרה דינרים. ולזה תקיש. וזה הוא ענין אומרו: לפי רוב המעשה אבל לא על פי המעשה.

28. Bamidbar 18:26

26 'Moreover thou shalt speak unto the Levites, and say unto
כֹּה וְאָלֶּה־לְכוּיִם תְּדַבֵּר, וְאָמַרְתָּ אֲלֵהֶם, כִּי-תִקְחוּ
מֵאֵת בְּנֵי-יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת-הַמַּעֲשֵׂר אֲשֶׁר נָתַתִּי לָכֶם
them: When ye take of the children of Israel the tithe which I
מֵאֵתְכֶם--בְּנִזְכְּלֹתְכֶם--וְהֵרַמְתֶּם מִמֶּנּוּ תְרוּמַת יְהוָה,
have given you from them for your inheritance, then ye shall
מַעֲשֵׂר מִן-הַמַּעֲשֵׂר. set apart of it a gift for the LORD, even a tithe of the tithe.

29. From Doom to Hope

Guided more by moral concerns rather than by economic theories or suppositions, a Jewish religious contribution would lay greater emphasis on building up self-respect by encouraging ambition and enterprise through a more demanding and more satisfying work-ethic, which is designed to eliminate idleness and to nurture pride in "eating of the toil of one's hands" as the first immediate targets.

"Any job is better than paid idleness."

A Relationship of Mutual Respect



30. NY Times, November 2, 1999

<http://www.nytimes.com/1999/11/02/world/lord-jakobovits-outspoken-chief-rabbi-in-britain-for-24-years-is-dead-at-78.html>

The views harmonized perfectly with those of Mrs. Thatcher, and it was a time when the Church of England was one of her harshest critics. **She reportedly told people that she wished Rabbi Jakobovits were the archbishop of Canterbury.** And she saw to it that he was knighted in 1981 and made a peer in 1988.

31. People Magazine, March 07, 1988

<http://www.people.com/people/archive/article/0,,20098423,00.html>

Margaret Thatcher Makes Immanuel Jakobovits the First Rabbi to Be One with the Lords

Thatcher seems to have a particularly high regard for Jakobovits, who shares her conservative views on most social issues, including her opposition to abortion. When the Church of England issued an urban policy report in 1985 accusing the government of callousness toward black and Asian immigrants, the rabbi responded stingingly in favor of "self-help as a means whereby we make ourselves useful." By some accounts Jakobovits has become the P.M.'s favorite cleric of any faith. Jakobovits plays down his philosophical links to Thatcher, saying simply, "It so happens our views converge."

32. 1991 Feb 21, Speech at dinner to Lord Jakobivits (retirement)

<http://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/108261>

The Jewish community's success in providing so many of this country's most dynamic leaders in business, the professions, the arts and charitable service bears witness to what truly motivated people can achieve. Lord Jakobovits has spoken movingly of how Jewish families struggled to give their children the best possible education. How they discouraged idleness and rooted out crime. How they emphasized duties as well as rights.

How they respected hard and honest work, thrift and moral probity. Nor are these just Jewish values—though the Jewish community has practised them in an exemplary manner. And they are not just Victorian values—though I wish that those who criticise our Victorian predecessors for their undoubted failures were able or willing to emulate some of their achievements.

These are in truth the values which are part of that legacy of Judaeo-Christian tradition which is the foundation of the free society, and without which so much of what we treasure would perish.